609 [534] himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

[541] Then I went into one end of the large house which is occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

[578] I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

[542] [542] Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ciçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dh2."

513 [534] But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or elecá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sõte ecẽ tchãme. Imẽnhame ari utiẽ bai utiẽ mai pãnme. Eteã nanhum uteˆ rupanhum beˆ anhocate ediˆe. Imenhame utiẽ xi utiẽ me pito utiˆe bai ari ué utiẽ oebé anhocate epeçupeidie ipi bé utiˆe parará ama utiˆe rupanhum beˆ-xime. Rupãnhum-beˆ tié a ẽen anhocate ediˆe tutu ué-e utié rupanhum beˆ-ibé pame une pite idiotié ma utié pa-ãme pai beˆxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽti caracuie cuié ãeˆ uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iuelpe iné utiˆe uené pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tutõne pre ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

● 534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
784 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruqueˆ.

[375] To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is especially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruqueˆ but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have aso the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individualsibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubé* or *ti*, and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mãsiri*, a drink prepared for the festivl out of manicuera is poured into the *kaduke* from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Ararasib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuruut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *Ñape waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last

[See arrest sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. — Analyst]

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
● [637 209] they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping cane trumpet, or with the kiohos, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the [illegible] and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
[578 646] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.—Analyst]

614 314 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 534 The sacred trumpets, called karóko, embodied the souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

622 Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Munduruku warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [203] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [729] belonged to the Kuchacha'awen, a society of older, valiant [575] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [574] his route, the kuchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pen, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A kuchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

to their temporary shelters to pick up the women and their belongings and proceeded on a forced march until safety was reached, usually after a large river had been put between them and the enemy. If any of their own number was killed or too seriously wounded to keep up with the party, the member of the opposite moiety who had the privilege of burying him stopped long enough to cut off the upper arm of the fallen one, even if he was still alive. Needless to say, death came quickly to the wounded subjected to this operation. The arm bones were brought back to the village flayed of their flesh and after a suitable mourning period were buried.

The trophy heads were prepared <u>en route</u>. The retreating party stopped long enough to preserve the head by cleaning out the brains, boiling it slightly, and drying it near a fire. This process was repeated about three or four times. The head was not shrunken.

The return of the war party to their villages was an occasion of great rejoicing for those who remained behind, but one of sadness for the close relatives of the fallen. The warriors announced their return by blasts on a type of trumpet called the <u>uhua</u> and were met by the older boys of the village. The captive children were turned over to the boys to be guarded and the warriors triumphantly entered the village. The children were adopted by their captors, tattooed, and eventually became Mundurucu warriors and wives, themselves. According to informants, these people taken as captives were given full status within the tribe

[534]

796 Munduruca used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial imitations of the various beasts by the male participants. The imitation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the biuahi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by biuahi of the opposite moiety. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 539 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and

One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778
534 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796 775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the spectes "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796 562 All Munduruc religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to [illegible] except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796 562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Munduruc village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabi* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che kar'ikö ejewöt*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabi* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabi*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kebawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large ilauba tree) has a subclan named [illegible] of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the cult, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waro* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ã is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds.

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological exploration of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purposes, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of "increase in the economic importance" of women. Eggan (1950: 131) views the continuance of matrilineality among the Hopi in much the same light.

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7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Munduruci warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Munduruci did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parivat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Munduruci society was an important criterion of status.

Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Munduruci lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

Intervillage cooperation enabled the Munduruci to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural [illegible] leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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The *manhat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Munduruků have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Munduruků informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *manhat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Kaxiuí Screams

The *karóbi* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Munduruků village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karóbi* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibirabák*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tabi*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karóbi ejaoat*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,* but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Munduruků culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Munduruků at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karóbi* of certain villages were also the *karóbi* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, subclan, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

* Murphy, 1958.

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passion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the *property of* certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dïaxëbïk*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dïaxëbïk*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *ãdï* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dïaxëbïk* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not so worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karõbï*, go to Karõbïkai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upïxïbari, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

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it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajebeiki* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Munduruci villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajebeiki*. Come, drink weré and sairi. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Munduruci style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Wuchaeka*[1] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajebeiki* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the pem, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The raptor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Daruhdi* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Daruhdi* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajebeiki*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beiji (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beiji and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Daruhdi*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the following sickness, or ajewasi. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[1] The identity of the term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

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buritĭ palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buritĭ leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buritĭ-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buritĭ leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buritĭ leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buritĭ-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arsiarsi* ceremony was identical, except that the buritĭ leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kiŭ*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parasoi*, but those for the *Dajoarupərip* and *Arsiarsi* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kiŭ* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

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sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin.

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bïuši* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karĭkŏ

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karĭkŏ*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karĭkŏ* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size.

The *karĭkŏ* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

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internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 2¾, 3⅛, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant pariuba palm root, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *karóbi* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. This chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *karóbi* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was generally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old pariuba root reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd, a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or *ah fay apun ipichat*, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

[782] The spirits residing within the *karóbi* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather in front of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of food into the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. There are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work nonchalantly at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *karóbi* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous dirge. The music is always

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the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karihi* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the gourd horn.

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karihi* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women steam large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages.

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The occasion of the reinstallation of the *karihi* in a new men's house took place in Cabitutú during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Dovedyém. Dovedyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

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The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Munduruca, is the home of the karikó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

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During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They untrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabiteté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their *dzemeibik*. His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

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The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Munduruca village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 68–81.

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that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wiwa osoa*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Munduruc explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wiwa osoa hon*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Munduruc ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Munduruc culture. The Munduruc recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Munduruc perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Munduruc social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 135–136.

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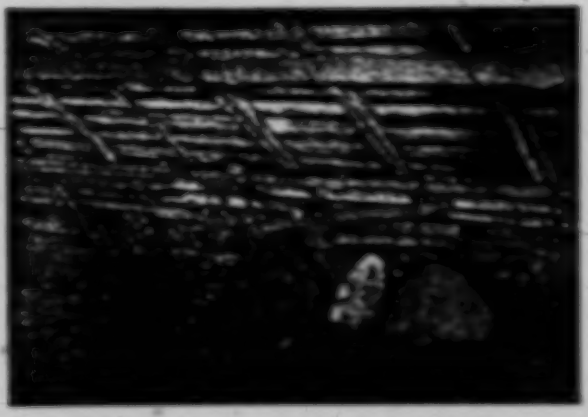

A. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Dance. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

B. Woodcarver seen playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karikit*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

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Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karökö*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubö) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karökö ejeuöt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubö resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waru* clan and so belonged to it and its plurutric affiliates, the *Ihi* and *Rapaeru* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waru*, *Ihi*, or *Rapaeru* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Munduruca who might happen to be in

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the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *uxuémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uxhrim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Ili* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ili* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

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476 183 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.

578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 621 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the ekxí only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in 345 778 584 which the sacred trumpets (karúkö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

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leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beiji* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekad* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

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but the Munduruců themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karókó is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Munduruců, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Munduruců, constitute self-conscious social groups. Munduruců generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

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562 578 571 [189] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 ●534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 392 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains